Workers of the World, Unite !

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JOHN FOSTER DULLES BLURTS OUT THE TRUTH

An Editorial

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SWP Asks Board of Inquiry To Probe Stalinist Slanders

CIO Steelworkers Face Showdown Battle on Wages

JULY 14 — The frantic efforts of Truman and Philip Murray to forestall a steel strike by a formula of government intervention without open use of the Taft-Hartley Act has foundered on the flat refusal of the major steel corporations to accept Truman's proposed "fact-finding" procedure unless carried out formally under the law.

Contemptuous and arrogant, the U. S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel and Republic Steel corporations insist on nothing less than all-out, open government strike-breaking. They refuse to allow Truman and Murray even a politically face-saving formula for applying Taft-Hartley procedure without invoking the Taft-Hartley law.

Thus, Murray's hand has been forced and he has been compelled to fix a strike deadline for midnight Saturday, July 16. Unless the steel barons reverse their stand at the last minute and accept Truman's second plea to present their case before his special "fact-finding" board in return for a 60-day delay of the strike, an estimated 500,000 workers in basic steel will hit the picket lines this week-end.

NO ASSURANCES

There is no assurance, however, that if there is a prolonged steel strike which progressively affects wider sectors of industry, Truman will not resort to Taft-Hartley measures to break the strike. He will be under the heaviest pressure of the capitalist press, the whole capitalist class and Congress to smash a strike that might well set off a new wave of labor struggles in auto, electrical equipment, coal and other industries now in negotiations.

On the other hand, even if the steel corporations finally accept Truman's proposal and a strike is averted or halted after it starts, there is no assurance that the steel workers will gain more than crumbs, if that, from an agreement reached through government intervention.

The Truman administration has assured the steel companies that the "fact-finding" board he proposes to set up will have power to recommend a settlement, but that such a proposed settlement will not be binding on either party in the dispute. Under these conditions, the companies would still be able to refuse any concessions, however small, the government might suggest.

Murray, however, has virtually committed the steel union, in the eyes of the public, to accept any terms, no matter how slight the gains, proposed by Truman through his "fact-finding" board. For it has been known for weeks that Murray wanted intervention by the government, that he invited it and eagerly accepted it as soon as Truman made his proposal.

AGAINST THEIR WILL

Murray and the top CIO leaders, much against their will, may be forced to lead a show-down battle. But they have no stomach

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PHILIP MURRAY

Touchstone for Conference To Defend Bill of Rights

An Editorial

Popular indignation is mounting against the police-state terror fostered by the Truman administration. The time is at hand to organize this resistance in a broad movement of united action to stop the campaign for thought control and defend all victims of the witch-hunt. The Bill of Rights Conference is presented with a magnificent opportunity to become an important part of that movement. But unfortunately it is also presented with an ultimatum which, if accepted, will nullify all its activity and blow it up as an effective instrument for civil rights.

The ultimatum is delivered by the leaders of the Communist Party. In an editorial in the July 14 **Daily Worker**, a compendium of misrepresentation and slander, the Stalinists put two peremptory conditions to the conference and all defenders of civil rights:

1. That a movement for civil rights which defends the liberties of Trotskyists will not be supported by the Communist Party but must expect its most vicious animosity, sabotage and disruptive opposition.

2. That any movement for civil rights which receives the support of the Communist Party must accept its position on Trotskyism, its whole catalogue of unfounded, irresponsible and criminal charges and accusations.

Imitators of Tom Clark and FBI

The model for this ominous ultimatum is to be found in the methods and reasoning of the Tom Clarks, the Un-American Committee and the FBI. The witch-hunters are not for the suppression of all critics at this time. They now limit their victims to the left-wing minority which is critical of the administration and especially of its foreign policy.

Nor are the witch-hunters at present demanding the suppression of critics just because they are critics. Their criterion for the denial of civil rights, for the time being, is the accusation of "spy," "conspirator," "subversive," "agent of a foreign power" and seeking to "overthrow the government by force and violence." No effort has been made to prove these charges or to provide organizations so blacklisted with a hearing or the right of self-defense. But that does not prevent the government from smearing and victimizing members of these organizations.

The Communist Party merely changes a few words but operates on the same principle. It claims to be in favor of civil rights for all **with one exception** — its opponents and critics from the left, the Trotskyists. Like Tom Clark, it proceeds from the standpoint of "guilt by association" in its warning to I. F. Stone that if he persists in defending Trotskyists he is to be read out of the "progressive" camp.

Like Tom Clark, the Stalinists are willing to permit "differences" from all except those whom they arbitrarily blacklist as "fascists," "fifth columnists," "agents of Hitler and Franco" — accusations which are also made without evidence or the right of those so charged to publicly defend themselves. The penalty for those blacklisted by Stalinism is not only to be barred from the civil rights movement but to be denied its defense against the witch-hunters and persecutors. Here the liberals and progressives are called upon to uphold the Smith Act against the Trotskyists, and to join a united front with Tom Clark against James Kutcher.

Liberals Branded "Disrupters" Too

Those liberals like I. F. Stone, Thomas Emerson, Albert Deutsch, Harlow Shapley, Frederick Schuman and others who have never hesitated in defending Stalinists from government persecution but who reject with indignation this Stalinist disruption of a united defense movement are themselves attacked as "disrupters" by the **Daily Worker**. Herein is revealed the true nature of Stalinism, which considers the very notion of submitting disputed questions to democratic discussion and decision — for that matter the whole democratic process — as "disruption."

Let the victims perish, let the witch-hunt triumph, but let no one question the crimes and treachery of Stalinism — that is the meaning of the ultimatum delivered to the Bill of Rights Conference.

This threat cannot be ignored or evaded. The Bill of Rights Conference will stultify itself as a mere front for Stalinism if it submits to the Stalinist ultimatum. Only the unambiguous and unqualified rejection of this ultimatum can lay the basis for the widest mobilization of all sections of the labor and liberal movement in defense of our precious liberties.

Howard Fast Challenged to Face Hearing

NEW YORK, July 13 — Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, today called for establishment of a Commission of Inquiry, composed of impartial liberal and labor leaders, to investigate the libelous slanders against Dobbs and the legless veteran James Kutcher made by Howard Fast, Stalinist literary hack, in Fast's letter published by the July 11 Daily Compass.

Fast's scurrilous lies about Dobbs, Kutcher and the Trotskyist movement represent the Communist Party's answer to liberal columnists I. F. Stone and Albert Deutsch who, in recent issues of the Compass, attacked the position of the CP in refusing to defend the civil rights of Trotskyists and other political opponents of Stalinism.

Stone and Deutsch rebuked the Stalinists specifically for their action at the New York Civil Rights Congress when they voted down an amendment to support the pardon campaign of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case victims and to defend James Kutcher, who was fired by the Veterans Administration for his membership in the SWP.

Among other slanders, Fast alleged that Kutcher had "said quite frankly that he supported the overthrow of the government by force and violence." To this FBI-stoolpigeon lie he added that the Trotskyists are "admitted pro-fascists," that they "were financially supported by the German Nazi movement," and that the SWP members generally are "strikebreakers, thugs and agent provocateurs."

In his reply sent to the **Daily Compass**, Dobbs gives a point-by-point answer to Fast's inventions and challenges Fast to sub-

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Truman Report Belittles Danger of Depression

By Art Preis

With almost all economic indexes dropping steeply, Truman at last has been forced to admit that there is "a declining national economy." But his Mid-year Economic Report to Congress, issued on July 11, still sees only a "moderate downward trend." He tries to freight this latest report with the optimism of his previous ones. But now, instead of being able to point to new records in production and employment, he has to concede a reverse trend.

His statistical data, however, is selected and trimmed to minimize the extent and speed of the decline. He tries to assure us that American capitalist "free enterprise" is fundamentally sound and that the current downslide is merely a "transition period" that holds no cause for alarm. The net effect is a falsely reassuring picture of the present state of the economy and the direction it is traveling.

Thus, his first stress is on the claim that employment, production and business investment are "still high." But even his own figures, selected to give the most optimistic picture, show industrial production down 13% in June, unemployment at close to 4 million and business investments running 26% below the 1948 peak.

Truman's figures on employment and unemployment illustrate his efforts to minimize the seriousness of the situation. He claims, for instance, that civilian employment in June was 59.6 million, down only 1½ million from a year ago. He does not state how the U. S. Bureau of Census arrived at this figure.

The bureau balanced off a sharp decline in industrial employment by claiming a big sudden rise in agricultural employment, although, as the July 9 **Business Week** observes, "Why this should be — with crops no larger and machinery more plentiful — is one of the little mysteries of the employment figures." It is no mystery when we understand that this surprising growth in farm "employment" largely reflects the return to farm homes of relatives laid off from city jobs.

Truman's figure of 3.8 million unemployed, also based on Census Bureau statistics, is at least 1½ million shy of the real mark. The bureau does not list as unemployed anyone laid off who has worked as little as 1 hour during the week of the survey, those on temporary lay-offs of less than 30 days and any laid-off worker not "actively" seeking a job. More than four million others cut to less than half-time employment are not mentioned by Truman.

Government experts have been telling us that less than 60,000,000 employed and more than 5,000,000 unemployed means a major crisis. Truman has "averted" the crisis simply by covering

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DICTATOR-RULE IN UAW FOUGHT AT CONVENTION

MILWAUKEE, July 12 — The twelfth convention of the CIO United Automobile Workers Union is a far cry from the convention that met in this same city and in this same hall twelve years ago. The 1937 Milwaukee convention, flushed with the union's remarkable victories over the automobile manufacturers, was the very embodiment of insurgency, fierce and jealously-guarded democracy and defiant militancy. The 1949 convention shows that the union is in the grip of a conservative machine and that it has been corroded with the deadly acids of red-baiting and opportunism.

Nevertheless, as was made clear in the presentation of a minority report on CIO Policy and the brief rebellion against holding conventions bi-annually, the tradition of insurgency in the UAW has not died by a long shot. It has simply been quelled because of specific developments in the faction fight inside the UAW and the sweeping witch-hunt from outside the union. But this convention has provided enough signs to confirm that militancy will animate the UAW again, once the ranks shake off the effects of the present anti-red hysteria.

REUTHER'S SPEECH

Walter Reuther, UAW President, pitched his opening address very cleverly to meet the grumbling in the ranks and the union's lack of achievements in the past year. The speech was militant in tone and consisted, in the main, of a savage attack against the Big Business giants, their huge profits, salaries and bonuses, their gouging and their responsibility for depression. Reuther also brought out the full justice of the workers' demands and the ability of the corporations to grant wage increases, pensions and health plans while lowering prices at the same time.

At complete variance with his previous declarations and his administration's record on the speedup problem, Reuther thundered that, "We take the position we will mobilize our union to fight against speedup wherever it raises its ugly head."

Reuther then attempted to take the edge off any criticism of his wage strategy and his mishandling of the recent Ford strike by vaguely threatening to call a new strike at Ford if the union's economic demands were

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Three Conference Sponsors Agree on United Action Need

JULY 13 — Three prominent educators this week expressed agreement with Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, that the Bill of Rights Conference should undertake to defend the civil rights of all groups under attack. They were Harlow Shapley, director of the Harvard College Observatory; Thomas I. Emerson, professor in the Yale University School of Law; and Frederick L. Schuman, professor in the Political Science Department at Williams College. All three are sponsors of the July 16-17 Bill of Rights Conference.

They had received copies of Dobbs' letter to Paul Kern, temporary chairman of the coming conference (printed in last week's **Militant**). Dr. Shapley sent the following letter to Kern on July 11, with a copy to Dobbs:

"A PROPER REQUEST"

"I have received as you must have also received a copy of the letter from Mr. Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. On its face, the argument in his letter to you, dated July 7, appeals to me as a proper request. I did not follow the activities at the meeting of June 25. Naturally I would expect the communist cause to be strongly defended and presented at the Civil Rights Congress. It strikes me as highly important that no favoritism of any sort prevail at the coming meeting under your chairmanship. I am sure that it is your intention, and the intention of the great majority of the sponsors, that all sufferers from abuses of the Bill of Rights be given recognition.

"Of course I hope that all participants are going to speak and act **constructively** — not attack each other. The enemy is the persecutor of all minorities, not those who differ from us in political ideologies."

RIGHTS OF ALL GROUPS

On the same day Professor Emerson sent the following letter to Dobbs:

"I am in agreement with your position that any conference on civil liberties should support the political and civil rights of all groups in the United States. I also agree that a representative of your party should appear as speaker at the conference and on the important committees. I have written to this effect to Paul Kern."

On July 12 Professor Schuman wrote a letter to Dobbs, which read as follows:

"I am in receipt of your letter of July 9 and of the copy of your letter of the seventh to Mr. Paul J. Kern, acting chairman of the Bill of Rights Conference to be held at the Henry Hudson Hotel in New York on July 16 and 17. Although I am one of the Initiating Sponsors of this Conference, circumstances beyond my control will make it impossible for me to participate in person.

"I am, however, in agreement with your position that the defense of civil rights cannot be honestly and effectively furthered save on the basis of defense of all minority groups whose rights are

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Dobbs Answers Fast's Lies in "Compass"

Ted O. Thackrey, Editor
The Daily Compass
164 Duane Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Thackrey:

Howard Fast's letter in The Compass of July 11 makes it crystal clear that the Communist Party, for whom he is obviously speaking, intends to stand pat on its refusal to defend the civil rights of political tendencies opposed to Stalinism and aims to impose that fatal policy on any movement they are connected with. That is the real reason for his insolent rebuke to I. F. Stone who has sharply criticized the Stalinists for their refusal to support Trotskyist victims of the witch-hunt.

Mr. Fast contends that the conviction of 18 Trotskyists at Minneapolis in 1941 under the same Smith Act that is now being used against the Stalinists "is not a case of civil liberties." Why? Because the Trotskyists "were accused of sowing dissension among the American Armed Forces."

A mere accusation, without proof, appears sufficient to convince Mr. Fast of guilt. By his standards of justice, the simple fact that the government prosecutor has made unproven accusations against the Stalinists would constitute grounds to deny that this persecution has anything to do with civil liberties.

The truth is that the 18 Trotskyists were convicted only of advocating the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. The Communist Manifesto was introduced as evidence against us.

Unions representing millions of members and scores of liberal organizations protested the conviction and have supported the pardon campaign of the Trotskyists.

Perhaps Mr. Fast would also like to rebuke Henry A. Wallace for stating in a letter to me on September 21, 1948: "It is apparent that the defendants in the Minneapolis case were not convicted on the basis of any acts of violence or intimidation but solely by reason of their expression of political views and opinions." Mr. Wallace further stated in the same letter: "I fully support the restoration of their civil rights to the defendants in this case."

Mr. Fast boasts of Stalinist "consistency in the anti-fascist struggle." He accuses the Trotskyists of "advocating support to the Nazi and fascist dealers in death." Let me remind him of a few facts.

It was not Trotsky who signed a pact with Hitler opening the way for the slaughter and destruction of World War II. It was Stalin. It was not Dobbs, or any other member of the Socialist Workers Party, who said, "Fascism is a matter of taste." It was Molotov.

Mr. Fast vilifies by his accusations Martin Widelin, German Trotskyist leader executed near Paris by the Gestapo; Pantelis Pouliopoulous, head of the Greek Trotskyists, shot by the Italian fascists; the French leader, Marcel Hic, tortured to death at Buchenwald; Leon Lesoil, veteran Belgian Trotskyist, starved and beaten to death at Neuengamme; and scores of other martyred Trotskyiss, murdered by the fascist butchers.

Mr. Fast slanders the Trotskyists as "strike-breakers, thugs and agent provocateurs." Again let me remind him of a few facts. Trotsky was murdered by a proven Stalinist police agent known as Frank Jacson, who has been convicted by a Mexican court for that heinous crime.

It was not **The Militant** that attacked the striking coal miners in a headline that screamed, "Not An Hour's Stoppage! The Mines Must Be Seized!" It was the **Daily Worker** of March 30, 1945.

Mr. Fast presents an involved alibi for the refusal of the Civil Rights Congress to accept at its June 25 meeting an amendment pledging support to James Kutcher, the legless veteran who was fired from his clerical job in the Veterans Administration solely because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Kutcher's case, he says, is only one of many. To raise such cases would water down "the central intent of the resolution." Besides there are "very simple channels" for asking Civil Rights Congress aid. "Why then was the amendment on Kutcher raised?" he asks, hinting darkly at some sinister motive. The answer is simple.

Both Kutcher and the Trotskyist victims of the Smith Act requested Civil Rights Congress support prior to the June 25 meeting. A second request was submitted to the resolutions committee at the meeting. Virtually every Stalinist civil rights case was mentioned in the resolutions adopted, but there wasn't a single reference to the Trotskyist victims of the witch-hunt. Believing themselves entitled to civil liber-

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Dictatorial Rule in UAW Fought

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not met. "We say to them here and now," he declared, "we are prepared to use all the weapons possessed by free labor in America in those negotiations. We know that we can't solve all of our problems through collective bargaining over the conference table."

The convention proceeded to pass in routine fashion a whole series of canned resolutions traditional nowadays in CIO union conventions and embodying what is known as "CIO policy." On the Taft Hartley Act, the union proposed to get out the vote to elect more "liberal" Congressmen in 1950, in line with the CIO pro-Truman program. On full employment, Murray's totally inadequate program is repeated in essence. The convention also adopted, as it had done for many years past, fine-sounding resolutions on "equal pay for equal work," a national health program, housing, an additional resolution embodying Reuther's proposal for using idle aircraft and ship construction facilities for mass production of houses, rent control, guaranteed annual wage etc. **A number of these resolutions contain many progressive demands. Their fatal defect consists in their lack of any proposals for action to carry through and realize these aims.**

PROPOSALS REJECTED

When De Vito, a Stalinist supporter from Local 45 in Cleveland, proposed that the convention call for a "one-day labor holiday all over the country" to fight the Taft-Hartley Law, a Reutherite delegate immediately called for the question and the Reutherite majority summarily shut off the discussion. Reuther personally felt so secure that he even suggested a little more debate would be in order. But the Reutherites figured they had the votes — why bother discussing?

Delegate McLogan from the West Coast called for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay as a practical measure to combat unemployment. This proposal was seconded by a Stalinist supporter, Delegate Ellis of Local 453 of Cicero, Ill. On "Fair Deal Legislation," a good speech was made by delegate Rawcliffe of Lincoln Local 900 of Detroit to break with the pro-Truman policy and form an independent "Labor-Farmers Party and send our own members to Congress where they will support us and not Big Business." But these were only incidents in the discussion. The convention majority, still lined up solidly behind the Reuther machine, brushed aside these necessary proposals and supported the Reuther policy.

The anti-Reuther anti-Stalinist opposition gathered around the "Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW" challenged the machine on its resolution on CIO Policy. The Reuther resolution consisted of a fierce attack on the Stalinist forces inside the CIO and the necessity of adhering to "CIO Policy." It proposed to endorse the anti-democratic decision of the recent CIO Executive Board meeting and further demanded that the Stalinist-dominated unions in the CIO be expelled and that organizing committees be set up in the respective jurisdictions.

Paul Silver, a prominent member of the opposition and a member of the resolutions committee, submitted a forceful minority report which declared that "We do not support and have no sympathy with the policies of the Communist Party," but which asserted the autonomous rights of international unions and the democratic rights of the rank and file within the UAW and all other unions to express their opinions and voice any criticisms. The resolution concluded with a resolve to "avoid the harm of a witch-hunt which could drag our union into the strangling atmosphere of an AFL bureaucracy."

The Stalinists opposed both the majority and minority resolutions while the Reutherites made straight red-baiting speeches. One Reutherite delegate, Shier of Chicago Local 6, supported the Silver report. Reuther felt it necessary to personally intervene in the debate with a demagogic, twisting speech, after which the majority resolution carried with about 200 delegates voting for the Silver report.

The second day of the convention also witnessed a brief revolt, reminiscent of past UAW conventions. The delegates overwhelmingly turned down the Reuther motion to hold conventions every two years. That evening, Reuther for the first time called a mass caucus meeting where he worked up his supporters on backing the machine. Next day, he succeeded in jamming through a modified proposal that the next convention is to be held in 20 months. The remaining controversial issues still to come before the convention are Reuther's constitutional amendments which would give him dictatorial powers, and the report of the grievance committee which is holding hearings against Tracy Doll and Sam Sage, officers of the Stalinist "Progressive Unity Caucus," up on charges for publishing a suppressed report.

The Stalinist caucus ran a full slate of officers against the Reuther candidates. On the roll call, Grant of Ford Local 600, their candidate for President, received 672 votes against 8,080 for Reuther. The Committee for a Democratic and Militant UAW nominated Claude Bland, President of Hudson Local 154, against Reuther. Bland declined the nomination with a well-motivated speech, which was favorably received by the convention. He stated:

"By now, most of you know that our Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW has been organized to fight for progressive, militant policies such as made our union famous in the great days of 1937 and to defend the democratic rights of our membership from attack from whatever source. . . It is clear that while the delegates understand the significance of these proposals [Reuther's two-year convention motion] and have expressed their opposition in such splendid fashion, on the overall questions of policy of our union the majority of this convention retains confidence in the present leadership. . .

"We believe that the important job now to be done is to utilize to the fullest extent the present convention and the period ahead to bring these issues before the delegates and our membership. . . For these reasons and in view of the present situation in our union, I am declining this nomination and releasing the supporters of the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW so that they may vote as they feel best, guided by the needs of their local situations and a desire to help build a bigger, more militant and democratic UAW."

PATTERN AT STAKE

More than the interests of the workers immediately involved in the steel dispute are at stake. It is generally recognized that the settlement in steel will set a pattern for the most important sectors of American industry. That is why the steel moguls are so adamant in their stand against any concessions whatsoever.

If the issue were settled on the basis of the justice of the demands of the union, there could be no question of the outcome. The Nathan report, released by the CIO last week, proves by irrefutable facts and figures that the incomes of steel and other industrial workers are lagging far behind the minimum decency level fixed by the government itself and that the big corporations have never been in a better position to grant wage increases and other benefits out of their record-breaking profits and reserves.

But the best statistics, the most annihilating proofs of the correctness of labor's demands have never won a nickel for the workers. At best they have helped to inform public opinion and win sympathetic support for workers in their struggles. But it has been the workers' struggles — their picket lines — that have supplied the decisive arguments and forced the employers to yield concessions.

The CIO workers are confronted with a crucial choice. They can conduct a fighting struggle of the kind that has won them every important gain in the past. Or they can surrender their demands to the tender mercy of boards dominated by capitalist-minded "impartial" agents of the capitalist government.

Strikers on the Air

On the air nightly, members of CIO United Electrical Workers tell the story of their 10-week strike at the Singer Sewing Machine plant in Elizabeth, N. J. Recording the evening's program are (l. to r.) Olga Bowers, Marie Farrell, Bob Callahan and Milton Meltzer.

Showdown Fight Looms in Steel

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for a fight. Several leading CIO unions, including the Textile Workers and Amalgamated Clothing Workers have abandoned wage demands altogether on the pretext of the worsening economic conditions and the CIO National Maritime Union recently signed a contract with virtually no gains. Murray, Reuther and the other CIO top leaders made no objection to this.

Although the CIO auto, rubber, electrical and oil workers are pressing wage, welfare and pension demands like the steel workers, the CIO leadership has made no effort to formulate and carry out a unified strategy or to prepare the CIO workers for a real battle. Murray and his lieutenants have clearly been banking on government intervention to relieve them of responsibility for leading an independent militant battle. No doubt they are still hoping that government intervention will succeed and that the decision will be taken out of the hands of the workers and will be made in Washington and imposed by government fiat on the workers.

Such intervention in the past has invariably ended with the workers getting the dirty end of the stick. The bitter, long-fought Bendix strike was recently settled by government intervention and the workers got nothing. At best, the government whittles down the union's demands to mere crumbs which the union leaders then try to peddle as a "victory."

The CIO is in position to win major gains if it undertakes a serious, determined course of unified, coordinated fighting action. Along with the steel workers there are the auto workers and electrical workers.

If the CIO could win in 1936-37, it certainly can win today. The CIO rose to its heights in a period of 10 to 12 million unemployed, when it had no vast treasury, when its unions were weak in membership, inexperienced and untested. Today, the CIO is solidly entrenched, with more than six million members experienced in unionism and tested in battle. Its financial resources are imposing. It is not faced wth mass unemployment on the scale that existed when it fought its heroic battles in the Thirties.

What is decisive is the will and the militant spirit. The CIO can win on the picket lines, if the leadership does not throw the victory away behind locked doors in Washington.

DANGER OF DEPRESSION BELITTLED BY TRUMAN

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up the true extent of joblessness and exaggerating the number still at work.

The 13% drop in industrial production in a country where the labor force and productivity are rapidly rising, which Truman cites, is no insignificant matter in itself. Averages here don't give the full story, however. A number of the key industries are in a far worse plight. Steel — the biggest basic industry — has already declined by more than 25%, although the experts had been predicting it would "never" fall below 75% of capacity this year.

Most instructive is the thoroughly false picture Truman gives of the relation between wages and profits. "Personal income of consumers after taxes decreased only about 1% from the level of the last half of 1948," he claims, while "profits reflected the decline in prices and production."

How does Truman square his figures on consumers' income with the fact that more than 5 million are totally unemployed and more than 10 million cut from a 40-hour week to 35 hours or less, with corresponding loss of pay? In fact, the crux of the current economic slump is the vast lag in mass purchasing power. And he omits the fact that in the first quarter of this year corporate profits rose an average of 9% to an all-time high.

THE BASIC FACTOR

The heart of the matter, which Truman's report brushes over, was nevertheless indicated in the report of his Council of Economic Advisers: "The downturn commenced with a failure of consumer markets to expand in line with total output." A hundred years ago Karl Marx revealed this as one of the classic contradictions of capitalism. The capitalists are gobbing up a greater and greater share of the national income, the wage-earners are getting less and less. The inevitable result is declining mass markets, "over-production" for the market, production cut-backs, lay-offs, still further declines in mass purchasing power — in brief, the whole unfolding of depression.

Truman, however, insists this is not possible today because the government has provided "cushions." By this he means such hand-to-mouth measures as unemployment insurance, old-age pensions etc. But unemployment insurance of $20 a week average and old-age pensions between $25 and $45 a month aren't much of a "cushion" for the loss of full take-home pay by millions.

The main "cushion," however, is more than $60 billion in annual governmental expenditures, federal, state and local. But even this huge shot-in-the-arm — largely through expansion of the military establishment—no longer suffices. The current decline is proof of that.

AID FOR PROFITEERS

How does Truman propose to solve the problem? First of all, by concessions to the profiteers. Instead of demanding, as he promised, higher taxes on profits and big incomes, he has withdrawn his previous request for tax increases — an action hailed by Republicans and Democrats alike. Truman assures the monopolists that whatever happens their profits will not suffer.

His specific 11-point program begins by asking Congress to "liberalize the provisions for carry-over of losses by corporations" — the way the corporations got back a tax-grab of billions in the first two postwar years.

For the masses, he repeats his proposals for "improved" unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, etc. But even the meager improvements contained in the bills he has sponsored in Congress are not in prospect of passage in this congressional session. And all of his measures taken together do not begin to touch the real core of the matter — the ever-greater slice the capitalists are taking from the national income and the ever smaller share going to the workers.

Truman proposes to prop up the economy by more and more "pump-priming" — expansion of government expenditures by means of running into debt. And, in the end, as his whole course indicates, he will resort to the one final extreme that Roosevelt resorted to when his "pump-priming" failed — war. The only other alternative is the elimination of the profits system and the establishment of a planned economy of socialism. That, however, is the task of the revolutionary American working class.

BACKGROUND OF THE CRISIS IN BRITAIN

By Charles Hanley

During World War II Britain made an enormous effort to escape being vanquished by German imperialism. That effort was crowned with success, but Britain was drained by it. Her dollar assets and foreign investments virtually vanished; she came out of the war much poorer than she entered, whereas the United States grew richer and more powerful. Britain's gold reserve is dwindling while the world's gold has been streaming to America, as it still does.

In Asia, the most precious sector of Britain's Empire, the fountainhead of British richness has been dried up by the awakening of the Asiatic peoples during and after the war; and though British influence is still prevailing there, it certainly has become far less direct than before 1941.

So there remained only one way out for a poorer capitalist Britain in 1945: a record increase in exports to supply her with dollars she badly needs for imports of vital raw materials without which her industry cannot work.

And, indeed, Britain's exports grew enormously not only because of her concentrated industrial effort and the "austerity" program at home, but also because every country needed manufactured goods after the war. These exports almost balanced Britain's imports.

Most of her exports, however, went to countries other than the U. S. and were paid for not in dollars but in so-called "soft currencies" which could not be converted into dollars. The Marshall aid (ECA) was ostensibly designed to fill this dollar gap, but Britain, obliged to import so many raw materials and foodstuffs from the dollar zone, found that these ECA dollars could not stabilize her financial position, all the less so when her exports began to run up against increasing difficulties.

END OF BOOM

The beginning of the ECA virtually coincided with the end of the postwar boom and the start of depression. In the U. S. the exceptional demand for goods is over; imports from foreign countries are growing much smaller; America's own industries are entering a crisis, with unemployment spreading rapidly.

Most European countries are reducing their imports, too, and buying only at the most advantageous prices. British industry is not modern. Like other old industrial countries (Belgium and especially France), Britain cannot produce goods as efficiently and rationally as U. S. industry, and the average quality of these goods is not outstanding, either.

American mass production is cheaper without being inferior in quality and Britain cannot compete with it on the world market. Other West European countries will use their ECA dollars to buy American rather than British goods.

The present condition of British industry is not the result of any "nationalizations." On the contrary, British capitalists permitted nationalization only of those industries which were particularly antiquated and unproductive and did not bring enough profits (the coal mines, for instances), their technical equipment having been neglected for some forty years by capitalist management itself.

Britain's economic difficulties are the heritage of British capitalism. And if the Laborite government is to be blamed, it is not for having dealt blows to capitalism, but, on the contrary, for having failed to abolish capitalism. Instead, the Laborites have helped maintain it. (In fact, representatives of old capitalist companies are to be found on the boards of all "nationalized" industries!) Assuredly, a Tory government would have faced a similar situation, if not a much worse one!

There is now considerable talk of the possibility of Britain's devaluating her pound sterling. This would not resolve the problem, since its effects would be quite temporary. In particular, other European countries would follow suit, to prevent Britain from getting any advantages out of it. After a while, the whole problem would reassert itself, with bankruptcy menacing direly.

For the moment, Britain has stopped buying in the dollar area. She is now trying to obtain some raw materials and food from other countries (Argentina and Soviet Russia) but many of the needed supplies will still have to be bought from the dollar area.

Washington may agree to throw more dollar loans into the breach. This, however, will postpone open bankruptcy without in any way solving Britain's grave economic and fiscal problems.

The capitalist hopes for a return to "normal market and business conditions" are absurd. In this era of acute capitalist decay, there can be no such thing as lasting stabilization. A crisis following upon the shortlived postwar boom is the "normal" evolution of capitalist world economy, as the Trotskyists have foreseen and predicted from the very outset.

The only realistic solution is a workers' world with international planning of production and distribution for the exclusive benefit of the toiling masses in each country and on a rigidly non-profit basis. There is no way of overcoming the menacing British, American and world crisis other than the road of the anti-capitalist struggle for a socialist society.

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

One Year After The Tito Split

This month marks the end of the first year of the split between Tito and the Cominform. Contrary to most predictions in the world's press, the Yugoslav revolt against world Stalinism has not been crushed. The position of Yugoslavia seems rather to have been strengthened considerably since its declaration of independence from Moscow, in spite of the growing fierceness of Kremlin attacks against it. The reason for that is obviously to be found, not so much in the inherent strength of the Tito regime, as in the threat of widespread disaffection throughout the other countries of the Soviet buffer zone.

This is evident from several facts. This whole past year the Stalinists have had their hands full in suppressing echoes of the Tito schism in the Communist parties of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, etc.

The extreme violence of these purges was recently emphasized by the public execution of Koci Dodji, former Secretary of the CP and Minister of the Interior in Albania. While no execution has been announced in the case of Lajos Rajk, former Minister of the Interior and Politbureau member in Hungary, his announced expulsion from the Stalinist party leads to conjecture that he met a similar fate.

No further indications have been given in the Stalinist press of the fate of former Vice-Premier Kostov of Bulgaria, former Vice-Premier Gomulka of Poland, of the Greek guerrilla leader, General Markos, all of whom were purged in the course of the year.

The prominence of the purged individuals is merely symptomatic of the depth and extent of the disaffection in the Stalinist ranks. For, as their titles indicate, some of the purge victims were themselves in control of the police and repressive apparatus in their countries until a year ago.

Of equal importance is the continual deterioration of the economic situation in most of the Salinist-controlled countries of Eastern Europe which has led, for the first time, to public demonstration and hunger riots.

The Mine Strike In Australia

Australian coal miners have been on strike for two weeks. Their main demands are $3.85 weekly raise, and nationalization of the coal industry. Their strike, coming in the midst of the Australian winter, has had a paralyzing effect on the country's industries, according to all reports.

The strike issues have been complicated by a court decision enforcing the Australian government's recent legislation which forbids the use of union funds for strike purposes. Several officials of the miners' and iron workers' unions have been jailed for refusing to comply with the court orders demanding an accounting, under this legislation, of the disposal of union funds recently withdraw from the banks. The miners' strike committee has announced that it will not enter into negotiations until their leaders are freed from jail.

NEXT WEEK:

Reports on:

The 40th annual conference of the NAACP in Los Angeles.

The Bill of Rights Conference in New York City.

The conclusion of the UAW convention in Milwaukee.

AMERICAN EMPIRE

The August issue of **Fourth International**, the monthly theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, presents: **THE AMERICAN EMPIRE.** A whole issue devoted to the most ominous development of our times — the drive of the Wall Street oligarchy toward domination of the entire world.

1. The Power and its Nemesis

In broad strokes the editors place the American Empire in its historic setting, showing how it far transcends anything seen before in wealth and malignancy. But American capitalism carries the seeds of its own destruction. Its real destiny is to prepare the ground for socialism in America. This editorial presents the main Marxist conclusions that are developed in detail in the succeeding articles.

2. The Reigning Oligarchy

Ferdinand Lundberg's book **America's 60 Families** created a sensation in 1937 with its facts about the enormous concentration of wealth in America. What has happened in the 12 years since then? John G. Wright brings the essential material up to date. From the obscure records where the capitalists try to bury the truth, he has pieced together the evidence. The cold figures reveal a startling increase in the size of the giant fortunes and the sinister power of the economic royalists. The pirates of private enterprise won't like this article, but class-conscious workers will. Put this down as must reading.

3. Organizer of Counter Revolution

Wall Street doesn't export democracy. It exports dollars and guns to strengthen reaction throughout the world. George Clarke presents the black record of Washington's foreign policy. He lays bare the economic sources of this policy, showing how the explosive force of American capitalism impels the multi-billionaires to take the road of conquest and another world war.

4. The Iron Heel

A reactionary policy abroad cannot be maintained without entrenching reaction at home. The price of imperialism to the American people has been a savage assault on their basic rights that bodes ill for the future. G. F. Eckstein probes the underlying social forces behind the "loyalty" purges, witch-hunts and anti-labor legislation. He shows why the drive against independent thinking was deliberately launched and why it extends from the most oppressed sections of the Negro people right up to the top circles of the atomic scientists. If you wonder why a vast, secret police network is being built in America on the pattern of the Gestapo, you'll find the answer in this instructive article.

5. Wall Street's Labor Salesmen

America's 60 richest families could not rule long without the support of the top labor bureaucrats. Bert Cochran tells the sordid story of Wall Street's cheapest diplomats, the labor "statesmen" who go abroad at union expense to peddle evil schemes of American imperialism. At home these same "statesmen" are doing their utmost to keep labor in the harness of the capitalist political parties. Brutal anti-labor legislation has been the pay-off. This article cuts through all the pretenses and camouflage of the top labor bureaucrats to expose the miserable role they play as low-priced messenger boys and cut-rate salesmen for American imperialism.

6. Program of the Opposition

William F. Warde sums up 60 years of anti-imperialist struggle in the United States. How can the American people find their way to a new economic system that operates in their interests? How can they end the rule of the profiteers and put in power a Workers and Farmers Government? The experience of the struggle against Wall Street since the Spanish-American war demonstrates that the answer cannot come from "isolationism," from pacifism, from the social-democracy or from Stalinism. The great hope for the future lies in the unique combination of Marxist theory and native American leadership embodied in the Socialist Workers Party. A profound study, drawing deeply on the lessons of history, "Program of the Opposition" fittingly rounds out another outstanding issue of **Fourth International.**

Send for a sample copy of the August issue of FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. Only 25c. Fill out this coupon and mail it today. The address is FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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TROTSKY

In the capitalist states the most monstrous forms of bureaucratism are to be observed precisely in the trade unions. . . It is thanks to this that the whole structure of capitalism now stands upright, above all in Europe and especially in England. If there were not a bureaucracy of the trade unions, then the police, the army, the courts, the lords, the monarchy would appear before the proletarian masses as nothing but pitiful and ridiculous playthings. The bureaucracy of the trade unions is the backbone of British imperialism.

—Leon Trotsky, "Communism and Syndicalism," 1929.

LENIN

Dulles Blurts Out the Truth

The other day John Foster Dulles, the new U. S. Senator from New York, made his maiden speech. In the course of whooping it up for the Atlantic Pact, he blurted out some top-drawer secrets.

Dulles has played a prominent role both in the secret councils of the bi-partisan warmongers as well as in the public conduct of Washington's "cold war." Among other things he took a leading part in the U. S. delegation to the recent Paris confab with the Kremlin. And what did this delegation seriously discuss among themselves? Here is what Dulles himself said:

"At Paris last month there was discussion as to whether to accept at all the Soviet-proffered truce and to resume, even on a tentative basis, four power consultations. Some feared that any relaxation of East-West tension would bring a corresponding relaxation on the part of the people and that they should artificially be kept alarmed."

There you have it, from the lips of one of the chief plotters, Dulles himself, that the American people have been and are victims of one of the most monstrous conspiracies in modern times. All the time that the capitalist rulers of this country have been howling about the need for measures against "foreign aggression," they have been carrying on a war of nerves against the American people, keeping them "artificially alarmed."

For what purpose? So that the capitalist politicians, militarists and diplomats could have a pretext for extorting the countless billions of dollars required for their imperialist program to dominate the world. So that they could have a pretext for instituting a permanent conscript army, for expanding their FBI stoolpigeon network, for their attacks on civil rights, etc.

Everything that has transpired since the Paris Conference — the drive for ratification of the Atlantic War Pact, the arms-for-Western Europe scheme and the continuing assault on civil liberties at home — proves that for tactical reasons, Dulles, Acheson, Truman and their fellow conspirators decided in Paris only to make it appear that there has been some "relaxation" in their war drive.

The capitalist rulers must resort to "artificial" methods, that is, secret diplomacy, conspiracies, and lies, to put over their real program. If they told the truth about their aims, the American people would rise up in wrath and put them in the insane asylums where they belong.

Rubber Workers and 30-Hour Week

Last week in discussing the abject failure of top union leaders to advance the demand for the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay we mistakenly referred, in passing, to the rubber union. We are glad to take this opportunity to make a correction.

The leadership of the CIO United Rubber Workers is to be commended for highly progressive steps that were taken by its Executive Board which recently held a special meeting on the unemployment problem.

It was here decided to include in 1949 URW contract demands the extension of the six-hour day throughout the industry with no reduction in pay.

While making this demand upon the companies, the URW, at the same time, came out in favor of federal legislation cutting the work week in rubber from 40 to 30 hours.

Here, indeed, is a splendid example to follow. By taking the lead in fighting for such a key issue as the 30-hour week, the URW leadership has performed a signal service for organized labor as a whole, and, in particular, has aided greatly in the unpostponable struggle to curb the spread of joblessness.

The unemployment situation is already so acute as to make decisive action imperative. Effective action can come from one source and one source only — and that is, from organized labor itself.

Delay, especially at a time when union contracts are up for negotiation, can act only to aggravate such a major problem as unemployment and render it more difficult to ameliorate the already intolerable position of workers in one industry after another.

The action of the URW Executive Board on the 30-hour week is all the more noteworthy because it points up the urgency of the situation and the dangers of any further delay.

An example has been set. It should be picked up and followed. Above all, the rubber workers must not be left in a position where they can be isolated by the employers in the struggle for the institution of the 30-hour week. Any setbacks in this connection will be paid for by the labor movement as a whole.

On the other hand, if other unions rally behind the same demand, pooling their resources and forces in a common struggle, a giant step will have been taken to assure one of the most effective immediate remedies that can be taken against the spread of unemployment.

SWP Denounces Rigged Regents 'Hearings'

ALBANY, July 14 — Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, today appeared before the New York Board of Regents special committee to denounce its fake "hearing" on so-called "subversive" organizations. He demanded that the Regents "accord to the accused every single right guaranteed under the constitution before taking action against our party, or against any other organization or individual." The full text of Dobbs' statement follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee:

I appear before you today in response to Commissioner of Education Francis T. Spaulding's letter of July 1 to the Socialist Workers Party in which he stated:

"The Regents are conducting an inquiry to determine what organizations are subversive within the terms of Chapter 360 of the Laws of 1949 of the State of New York, commonly referred to as the Feinberg Act.

"You are so characterized by the Attorney General of the United States."

Not another word is said about any charges against us. The rest of the Commissioner's terse letter describes the narrow, arbitrary limitations on testimony at this so-called hearing.

GUILTY BEFORE TRIAL

In effect, Commissioner Spaulding has said to us: "The Regents intend to brand you subversive because the Attorney General has so branded you. The trial is already over. But if you insist, you may say a few words before sentence is passed barring your members from their constitutional right to employment in the New York public school system."

If that is to be your procedure, you are about to commit a grave injustice. You are about to add more innocent victims to the witch-hunt that is spreading like a terrible plague throughout the country. You are about to move dangerously close to the actual burning of books, after the fashion of Hitler.

What evidence has Attorney General Tom Clark supplied you to back up his charge that the Socialist Workers Party is "subversive"? Before what legally-constituted tribunal has he proved this outrageous accusation? Were we informed of the nature of his charges against us? Did we have an open trial before a jury of our peers? Were we granted the right to confront our accusers and cross-examine them?

You do not, and you could not, have a shred of evidence that the Attorney General granted us a single one of these constitutional rights. For the facts are that Mr. Clark put us on his political blacklist without giving any explanation whatever for his high-handed procedure, and he has denied our repeated demands for a public hearing under due process of law to defend ourselves against his dictatorial action.

We didn't even know that the Socialist Workers Party had been put on the Department of Justice "subversive" list until we read about it in the newspapers. On July 28 1948, I wrote a letter to Attorney General Clark in which I protested against his illegal action, requested a detailed statement of all charges against us, and asked for a public hearing with the right to cross-examine our accusers and present witnesses in our own defense.

HISTORY OF BLACKLIST

Assistant Attorney General Alex Campbell replied as follows on August 16, 1948: "In the absence of provision therefor in the Executive Order (9835) the Department does not contemplate holding hearings in such matters, with or without specifications or charges."

I next sent a letter on August 26, 1948 to President Truman demanding that he direct the Attorney General to withdraw his illegal "subversive" list and grant us a public hearing under due process of law before taking any action against us.

My letter was ignored, so I again wrote to Mr. Truman on September 29, 1948, repeating these demands. Finally, on October 18, 1948, Assistant Attorney General Peyton Ford replied to my second letter to the President which he said had been referred to him.

Mr. Ford insolently told us that "the Attorney General has had strict regard for all of the substantial and procedural rights of those affected" by the "subversive" list.

While we were getting this runaround from the President, James Kutcher, a legless veteran, was fired from his clerical job in the Veterans Administration solely because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

With understandable indignation over this insulting, tyrannical treatment at the hands of the federal government, I immediately requested a personal interview with President Truman to protest this outrage. My request was ignored.

POLICE STATE STEP

Such are the facts concerning the Attorney General's illegal branding of the Socialist Workers Party as "subversive." For a political party in power to thus suppress the constitutional rights of an opponent party is a long step toward a police state and undisguised thought control.

If these sinister acts continue, there will soon be a policeman standing over every work bench and police spies — detestable paid stoolpigeons, or obnoxious, self-appointed gossips and scandalmongers — will be snooping in every home.

Serious concern over these far-reaching threats to civil liberties has been manifested among broad sections of the population. Both the CIO and AFL at their 1948 national conventions passed resolutions demanding the rescinding of Executive Order 9835 upon which the Clark blacklist is based.

James Carey, CIO secretary, denounced the firing of James Kutcher because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party which has been, as Mr. Carey put it, "gratuitously termed subversive in the personal opinion of the Attorney General."

International unions in the auto, clothing, maritime packing and other industries have protested against the Clark list. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union has called it "indicative of a trend away from the democratic principles of freedom which the people of this country have cherished and guarded."

State CIO councils in California, Washington, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, New Jersey and Minnesota have demanded the reinstatement of Kutcher. Carl Holderman, New Jersey CIO president, branded the firing of public employees for their political beliefs a "very infectious business that is spreading beyond the confines of government service into labor."

"AGAINST ANY MAN"

Referring to the firing of Kutcher, A. I. Davey, editor of the AFL Cleveland Citizen, said, "Once any people permit this sort of thing to become a common practice . . . we are fooling with dynamite that might eventually operate against any man or woman, no matter what their beliefs."

Numerous other organizations like the Americans for Democratic Action, the American Veterans Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union have rallied to Kutcher's support and attacked the Attorney General's high-handed policies. Hundreds of scientists, educators and religious and cultural leaders have spoken out in similar opposition to the Clark "subversive" list.

Over 100 members of the University of Chicago faculty have joined with Dr. Harold C. Urey, famous atomic scientist, in declaring: "Administrative agencies have been and are dealing with governmental employees in procedures which violate the basic decencies of notice and hearing which are part of our tradition of due process of law.

"All of this at the hands of administrative officials and other non-juridical bodies proceeds from the doctrines of 'guilt by association' and 'subversion' arbitrarily defined."

"Subversive" lists, said Professor Edmund Ezra Day of Cornell University, "under the guise of attacking communism, attack something quite different . . . academic freedom."

"What is the new loyalty?" Professor Henry Steele Commager of New York University recently asked. "It is, above all, conformity," he said. "It repudiates the once popular conception of progress, and regards America as a finished product, perfect and complete."

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor of Chicago University, has denounced what he called "that easy process by which one disposes of different views by applying a dirty name to them."

The New York Times of June 19 states that a national survey by its staff brought reports of "growing restlessness with the whole business of spy-hunting, Communist investigations and similar activities" and "grave public misgivings concerning the need for such investigations and the manner in which they are being conducted."

THE FEINBERG ACT

Yet Commissioner Spaulding's letter and the Regents' statements to the newspapers indicate that you intend to use the Attorney General's illegal "subversive" list as an alibi for extending his hateful methods into the New York public school system.

You may say that the Feinberg Act authorizes you to use the Attorney General's blacklist. If so, I reply that even that vicious thought-control law merely says you MAY use the Clark list if you so desire. You are not compelled to use it.

Once again I ask: What evidence did Mr. Clark submit whereby the state legislature and Governor Dewey could honestly conclude that the Socialist Workers Party had been constitutionally adjudged "subversive"?

The answer is still the same: The state legislature and Governor Dewey did not, and they could not, have any such evidence, because the Attorney General violated every constitutional right involved when he arbitrarily placed us on his "subversive" list without charges or a hearing under due process of law.

Consequently, you are not by any stretch of the imagination justified in using the Feinberg Act as a pretext for stigmatizing the Socialist Workers Party "subversive."

EVERYTHING ON ITS HEAD

Everything is stood on its head here. An unproven accusation by the Attorney General is regarded by you as a verdict of guilty. Instead of recognizing our constitutional right to be considered innocent until proven guilty, you demand that we prove our innocence. You act like this was a court of appeal from a trial that has never been held.

We are not told why we are called "subversive." Instead we are challenged to disprove a charge so vague that it can have any meaning our political opponents want to read into it.

The traditional test of a teacher's qualifications is his competence. You would substitute the test of political prejudice, with competence ignored as unimportant. You propose to victimize public school employees through the unconstitutional, anti-democratic charge of guilt by association, making mere membership in a blacklisted organization cause for dismissal.

Under that policy, stupidity would soon reign side-by-side with injustice in our public schools. Timid souls who conform to backward prejudices, and outright ignoramuses, would preside over the class rooms. Freedom of thought would be put in irons. Our children would be blighted in their education, cruelly deprived of their right to go forth from school equipped to blaze new trails of human progress.

BURDEN OF PROOF

If you really want to protect the public school system, you should challenge the constitutionality of the totally undemocratic Feinberg Act. You should refuse to join in the thought-control purge in the schools. You should defend the constitutional right to employment in the public schools, regardless of political beliefs.

If you choose instead to press the unjust accusation that the Socialist Workers Party is "subversive," the burden of proof legally rests upon you, not us. We demand that you accord to the accused every single right guaranteed under the constitution before taking action against our party, or against any other organization or individual.

Provide us with full information as to the exact nature of the charges against us. Hold a genuine public hearing under due process of law not a fake hearing like this one. Permit us to confront our accusers and cross-examine them. Let us call witnesses in our own defense.

We intend to fight with every legal means at our disposal to secure these rights and to safeguard freedom of thought and freedom of expression for every employee in the public school system, regardless of political beliefs.

THREE CONFERENCE SPONSORS AGREE ON UNITED NEED

(Continued from Page 1)

in jeopardy. I am inclined to doubt the practicability of your suggestion that 'all sections of the labor and liberal movement be invited into the Conference on an equal basis.' It is altogether unlikely that full agreement can be had as to what groups and organizations deserve to be described as 'sections of the labor and liberal movement.' In ideological rivalries, as in religious wars, heretics are invariably hated more than infidels. The Conference, moreover, is not primarily a meeting of delegates of organizations. On the other hand, I am in complete agreement with your statement that 'all victims of the witch-hunt should be defended, regardless of political belief.' I am writing Mr. Kern to this effect and urging that you or some other representative of your organization be invited to participate in the Conference.

"Within the limits of democratic procedure, there is no way by which the Chairman of the Sponsors can control the votes of the participants. I would regard it as wholly inadmissable, however, for any such conference to put itself in a position, overtly or by implication, of defending the civil rights of particular groups and declining to defend those of other groups. The principle here at issue, in my judgment, has nothing to do with the question of whether any particular group, were it in a position to do so, would or would not respect the civil rights of others. 'Free trade in ideas' is meaningless it embraces all ideas. 'Freedom for the thought we hate' is meaningless unless the civil rights of all are safeguarded, regardless of how hateful their thoughts may be, so long as they are acting within the law. It is my hope and belief that the forthcoming Conference will fully endorse this position. I should be the first to repudiate any resolutions or recommendations which seek to distinguish among varieties of political and social heterodoxy in the matter of the defense of civil rights."

Dobbs Answers Fast's Lies In "Daily Compass" Letter

(Continued from page 1)

ties equal to those demanded by the Stalinists, the Trotskyists naturally offered an amendment to that effect.

Mr. Fast's alibi is completely exposed by an editorial in the June 24 **Daily People's World**, a West Coast Stalinist paper, which bluntly says of the Kutcher case, "Let it be stated that everything connected with this sorry affair reeks of fraud and deceit. What is being touted as the 'case of the legless vet' and a 'test case' for civil liberties hasn't the remotest connection with the defense of civil rights."

Giving his own game away, Mr. Fast libelously asserts that "Kutcher said quite frankly that he supported the overthrow of the government by force and violence." James Kutcher never made any such statement anywhere at any time. On the contrary, he has vigorously and repeatedly denied this wholly unfounded accusation, and Mr. Fast knows it.

This contemptible provocation is the Stalinist way of saying to the Foley Square prosecutor, "All that's wrong with your thought-control trial is that you have the wrong defendants in the prsoner's dock. You should put Kutcher and the rest of the Trotskyists on trial."

On top of that Mr. Fast falsely charges that **The Militant** reportage "cannot possibly be construed as fair, much less favorable to the people on trial" at Foley Square, and that **The Militant** "does not call for such unity" of all people whose civil rights are threatened as I advocated in my speech at the June 25 meeting. Here are the facts.

When the Stalinist leaders were indicted under the Smith Act in July 1948, the Socialist Workers Party formally proposed a united front with the Communist Party to combat the whole witch-hunt. That proposal was ignored by the Stalinists.

At the start of the Foley Square trial, **The Militant** of January 24 carried a front-page headline reading, **"Trial of CP Threatens All Labor's Rights."** Subsequent issues of the paper have consistently called on the labor and liberal movement to defend the Stalinists against the thought-control prosecution. This we have done despite our fundamental opposition to Communist Party policies and practices.

In similar manner the Socialist Workers Party and **The Militant** have defended every victim of the witch hunt including Howard Fast in the appeal from his conviction for contempt of the House Un-American Committee.

The Stalinist slanders of Trotsky as a "paid agent of fascism" were long ago refuted by a formal Commission of Inquiry, headed by the eminent educator and philosopher, Professor John Dewey. Seekers of the truth will find the facts in the Dewey Commission report, published by Harper and Co. under the title, "Not Guilty."

Mr. Fast now libels Trotsky's disciples, who have advocated the Trotskyist program since his death, as "admitted pro-fascists." He charges that the Trotskyists "were financially supported by the German Nazi movement." He further states that the "record" of the Trotskyists in this respect is "amply documented." This is false from beginning to end. There are no such "documents."

I challenge Mr. Fast to submit his slanders and forgeries to the test of examination by an honest and impartial body. I ask that an impartial Commission of Inquiry, composed of leading figures in the labor and liberal movement, be constituted to investigate Mr. Fast's accusations and render a verdict.

In his letter Mr. Fast describes I. F. Stone as a sincere and honest person. I agree with that characterization, and I propose to Mr. Fast that he join me in asking Mr. Stone to act as chairman of such an impartial Commission of Inquiry.

FARRELL DOBBS
National Chairman
Socialist Workers Party

URGE BOARD OF INQUIRY ON STALINIST SLANDER

(Continued from Page 1)

mit proof of his allegations before a non-partisan Commission of Inquiry similar to the one that Professor John Dewey headed, which in 1937 held hearings in Mexico on the Moscow Frame-up Trial charges against Leon Trotsky.

Dobbs invites Fast to join in advocating a Commission of Inquiry and proposes that I. F. Stone, who Fast in his letter admits is a sincere and honest liberal, shall be the chairman of such a commission. (Dobbs' letter to the Compass is published in full on Page 1.)

AIM TO INTIMIDATE

Undoubtedly, Fast's letter was designed to intimidate liberal elements at the national Bill of Rights Conference this week-end from supporting the defense of the victimized Trotskyists. Those who do so are being labeled in advance as "defenders of fascists."

The July 14 **Daily Worker**, also in the form of a reply to I. F. Stone, hands down explicit orders to the Stalinists at the conference not to allow Trotskyist "disruption" — that is, to prevent the SWP delegates from presenting their appeal for a broad united front of all liberal and working class organizations, regardless of political differences, in defense of all witch-hunt victims.

The participation of the SWP in the recent New York Civil Rights Congress conference, the widespread publicity and liberal indignation aroused by the action of the Stalinists at the conference, have at last forced the Communist Party to make its position on civil rights unambiguously clear. They can no longer duck the issues of the Kutcher case and the pardon campaign of the 18 Trotskyist and Minneapolis CIO leaders imprisoned during the war under the same Smith "Gag" Act now being used against the CP leaders.

This is the answer of the CP leaders to the SWP's proposal for a united front on civil rights first made a year ago. On July 26, 1948, immediately after the FBI-arrest of the CP leaders, Dobbs issued a press statement denouncing the indictment of the CP leaders under the Smith Act as "a monstrous blow against civil liberties." Two days later, the SWP sent a formal statement to the CP Central Committee, saying that "we the first victims of the Smith Act, offer you our aid . . . We ask you not to permit the profound political differences between us to stand in the way of a broad united front of the working class in defense of civil rights."

The CP leaders did not even reply. They sought to bury the fact that the Minneapolis Labor Case set the precedent for their own prosecution and that the CP had hailed the imprisonment of the Trotskyists under the Smith Act. But the government's introduction of this precedent into the Stalinist trial forced the defendants and their lawyers to claim in the court that the SWP case "is not a parallel with the present case."

ABRAMSON LETTER

The Stalinists similarly tried to ignore the case of James Kutcher. But as liberal and labor support for Kutcher mounted, the CP hacks in the unions sought to sabotage such support. Finally, the Feb. 18 Stalinist Daily People's World **in Los Angeles openly attacked Kutcher and his defense campaign.**

On May 16, Irving Abramson, eastern regional CIO director, answered the **Daily Worker's** complaint about labor leaders not supporting the defense of the indicted Stalinists. His letter to the **Daily Worker**, which it did not publish, cited chapter and verse on how the CP supported the Department of Justice prosecution and frameup of the Trotskyists. Abramson's letter, published in **The Militant**, helped focus national attention on the CP policy of no defense of civil rights for opponents of Stalinism.

When Dobbs spoke at the Civil Rights Congress he brought the whole issue to a head. This forced the Stalinists to a clear-cut action in denial of civil rights for the genuine Marxists, the Trotskyists. An article in the **N. Y. Times**, an editorial in the **N. Y. Post** and the forthright stand of I. F. Stone and Albert Deutsch, who support the defense of the indicted Stalinists, resulted in the venomous public attack by Fast and the **Daily Worker** on civil rights for Kutcher, Dobbs and the Trotskyists.

On July 16 and 17, the SWP representatives will participate in the Bill of Rights Congress and seek once more to put forth the program of a genuine united front of all liberal and working class organizations to defend the civil liberties of all victims of the witch-hunt, including both Stalinists and Trotskyists.

Newark Branch Outing

to Mt. Spring Camp
JULY 24, 1949
$3.00 includes transportation, meals and program of outdoor sports. — $2.00 for children under 12.
Cars Leave 8:45 AM
from 423 Spring Avenue
Phone reservations: BI 3-2574

Los Angeles

Hear JAMES KUTCHER and leading labor and liberal supporters of the defense of the legless veteran.
Southern California Kutcher Civil Rights Banquet
Saturday, July 23 6:30 pm
PARK MANOR
607 So. Western Ave.
For tickets write to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee
809 Cornwell Street
Los Angeles 33
or phone:
AN 2-5390 or RI 7-8356

San Francisco

Marxism and the Problems of the American Working Class
Eighth Lecture
REFORM OR REVOLUTION
The Social Democrats
1739 Fillmore, 4th floor
Friday, July 22 8 PM
Admission free
REFRESHMENTS

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIII — MONDAY, JULY 18, 1949 — NUMBER 29

A Depression Story

By Ruth Johnson

It was a coincidence that a letter was sent me on the day Truman was telling the nation that the "recession" is really nothing to worry about.

"Dear Ruth," the letter said, "Ralphie died three months ago, but I haven't been able to write about it until now. The end came after three weeks of terrible pain. He had a headache that wouldn't go away. . . Doctors and two brain specialists made all kinds of tests, spinal taps, two minor operations on his head, and then a major operation to remove what they thought was a tumor.

"He died eight days after the operation. After the autopsy they told me it was tubercular meningitis, and the beginning must have been contact with Bud so many years ago."

As I remembered that episode of long ago, I could see Ralphie's mother and father, twenty years old and deep in love. That was in the bitter depression year of 1934, but they weren't afraid of a thing. They both had jobs, and that alone seemed like a miracle to the rest of us. Between them they earned $32 a week, enough to get married on, buy furniture on the easy-payment plan, and get a cozy apartment. Bud was a bright ambitious young man, going to night school to "improve himself" so they could afford a family some day.

He worked in a warehouse office nine hours a day, more whenever the boss ordered it. Who could refuse to put in a little overtime, when hungry lines of unemployed stood before the building every morning? Often Bud dashed off to class without time for dinner, then plopped into bed too tired to eat at midnight.

Before the furniture was paid for, Ralphie was on the way. Bud worried a great deal, skipped a few more meals to put aside a little extra money. The big long hours, the strain, the skimpy meals began to tell on him. He lost weight, tired easily, kept getting colds. Two months before the baby was due, the doctor ordered Bud to take a complete rest, build himself up with plenty of milk and eggs and meat.

They didn't think it was too bad. Of course they had to give up the apartment and take a cheap furnished room, with barely enough space for a bed and a bassinet. But Gladys was working up to the day of the baby's birth, she picked her way through rush-hour crowds morning and night. Her boss, who liked the idea of keeping a good worker, so disciplined by necessity, even told her she could come back in two weeks.

In spite of the doctor's care, Bud wasn't getting any better. Still, it didn't take much exertion to feed and dress a baby, so he shouldered these tasks while Gladys worked. It is possible that the doctor was careless. Or was it just that he didn't think much about what happened to patients who had so little money? Anyway, it took him months to discover that Bud had tuberculosis, in an advanced stage.

I put the letter down, thinking of how long, even then, they had to wait for a vacancy at the free sanitarium. Bud lived only three weeks after they finally admitted him. I remembered the twenty-two year old widow stunned with grief, holding Ralphie in her arms.

There was nothing weak about Gladys. She worked, she managed well, she gave her baby glowing health. Somehow she could always afford specialists for him, no matter what she did without herself; she was haunted by the knowledge of her child's early exposure to tuebrculosis.

Now Ralphie is gone. Born in the midst of a depression, struck down by its effects, dead at the age of thirteen as another depression looms.

That is the story of Bud and Gladys and Ralphie. It is a small part of the bigger story of a society that dooms millions upon millions to such fate. Out of all our rememberings and sufferings will some day come the power to free our lives from the death-clutch of the capitalists.

Socialized Medicine VI

British Doctors

By Grace Carlson

Like their American counterparts in the American Medical Association, the bureaucrats of the British Medical Association resist every real move toward "socialized medicine." In 1911, they fought a bitter but losing fight against Lloyd George, whose Liberal Government enacted the first national health insurance program for British workers. While they lost the fight, they did win some points, such as local administration and choice of doctor.

By 1948, when the National Health Service replaced it, this panel practice enrolled 20 million workers in England and Wales and two-thirds of Britain's doctors had at least some panel practice. Under pressure of Labor Party members, Churchill's coalition government threw out a sop to the British workers in the terrible war year of 1943 in the form of the Beveridge report. Among other benefits, the Beveridge plan provided for the extension of free health services to all Britains from the "cradle to the grave." The Beveridge plan was instantly popular and a Gallup poll taken in 1943 showed that 88% favored its passage after the end of the war.

Faced by this widespread demand for the extension of compulsory health insurance, the BMA supported the Beveridge plan, but began to put pressure on the Health Minister to draw up a bill that would favor the medical profession. Twice, the BMA rejected health bills submitted to them by Hubert Willick, the Conservative Health Minister. Later the BMA and the Conservatives were near agreement when the 1945 elections swept the Labor Party into power.

Aneurin Bevan, the former Welsh miner, was named as the new Health Minister and drew up the health bill, which a Labor-controlled parliament passed in 1946. Immediate and loud cries of protest rose from the BMA and in the two years which elapsed before the National Health Service went into effect on July 5, 1948, Bevan and the Laborites fought a strenuous fight with the embattled BMA bureaucrats.

The BMA heads conducted three plebiscites among British doctors to determine whether the doctors would cooperate with the health service. These were carried out by medical association leaders in the same hysterical spirit in which the American Medical Association heads now attack the proposed National Health Insurance Program. As expected, the plebiscites in 1946 and 1947 gave a substantial majority against participation in the National Health Service.

In February, 1948, the Labor Party called a special debate in the House of Commons on the forthcoming health program. A Labor Party leaflet circulated at the time said, "On July 5, 1948, we begin a major attack on poverty and ill health. Britain awaits the attack on misery and everybody is ready save the BMA."

The third plebiscite occurred after this debate, which was widely publicized in the British Isles and served to enlighten the public as to the greedy character of the BMA opposition to the National Health Service. Equally and perhaps even more important, the vote was taken after Bevan made some significant concessions to Britain's doctors — concessions which gave them a larger guaranteed income, and removed their fear that British doctors would become salaried officials. After the third plebiscite, the BMA withdrew its expressed objections to the Health Service and the vast majority of British doctors joined up.

One year later, the BMA heads are still complaining. They do not ask to have the National Health Service bill repealed. It has been too popular with the British workers this past year. But they are asking that the fee for the first 1000 patients on a doctor's list be raised from $3.40 to $7 per head. If the BMA heads can bring enough pounds and shillings in through the doctor's door, they will gladly toss the Hippocratic oath out the window!

The Rent Fight in Chicago

Climaxing a series of public hearings to determine whether Chicago should be the first city to get a blanket rent increase, the Cook County Rent Board has voted to reject the landlords' demand for a 45% increase. The vote was 8 to 7, five "public interest" members voting with three tenant representatives to reject any increase.

Chicago will long remember the hearings held early in June. The principal protagonists were the Chicago Tenants Federation, representing the organized tenants, and the Cook County Fair Rent Committee, whose petition for a 45% blanket rent increase had precipitated the hearings on the "adequacy of the rent level in Chicago" and the "general operating position of landlords."

Apparently enough the stage of the Civic Opera Building was the scene. The "performances" ran the gamut — from shoddy burlesque to first rate drama. The landlord-packed house hooted and booed and hissed the tenant representatives and at times completely drowned out tenant testimony. They saved their best efforts for Jack A. Rosen, executive secretary of the Chicago Tenants Federation. His charge that Chicago tenants were paying the highest rent in the country was met by such an outburst of booing by the landlords in the audience that the chairman threatened to clear the house.

The Cook County Rent Advisory Board met June 28 to consider the voluminous record of the testimony collected at the hearings. Michael Mann, CIO Regional Director and a public interest member, promptly made a motion to reject the requested increase. In the discussion that followed, M. J. Myer, tenant representative on the board and attorney for the Tenants Federation, assailed the landlord-sponsored survey in a masterful one hour presentation.

"If there is room for a general rent increase in Cook County," he concluded, "then there will be one for the whole country. That would amount to legislative action by this board and Congress, never intended that or it would have written it into the law." Myer asserted that the Fair Rent Committee's analysis of rent conditions was shot through with inaccuracies and misleading conclusions.

The decision was a blow to the landlords, who confidently expected to win a large rent increase and thus make Chicago the opening wedge in removing all rent controls throughout the country.

Notes from the News

ANOTHER "FAIR DEAL" FRIEND — Commenting on the Senate Appropriation Committee's decision to earmark 50 million dollars of ECA money for the butcher Franco, Secretary of State Acheson declared that he and his colleagues have "no political objections to granting Spain an American loan."

* * *

PROFESSORS DISSENT — Unlike the National Education Association, the investigating committee of the American Association of University Professors upholds the right of teachers to belong to the Communist Party as long as it is a legal party.

* * *

FREE SPEECH LOCKED OUT — The Labor Youth League in Minneapolis found itself locked out of the hall it had hired for its meeting on July 9. Capt. William McCormick of the North Side police station explained: "I saw in Thursday's Minneapolis Star that these people were going to meet. I talked to Mack (the landlord) and told him I didn't like it. Mack promised to close the hall."

* * *

SIGN OF THE TIMES — A Pittsburgh want-ad offering "good, clean factory work" brought 1,500 anxious applicants. There were five jobs open, or one for every 300.

* * *

RENT-HOGS ON RAMPAGE — Federal rent officials have proudly anounced that since April 1 when Truman's "Fair Deal" rent law went into effect, dwellings have been decontrolled at the rate of 9,300 a day.

* * *

NEW MEMBER OF "SH-H-H" CLUB — All this talk about a depression is just "propaganda" against the Democratic Party, according to CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers President Jacob Potofsky.

Dockworkers Strike Spreads As Laborites Invoke Decree

As the London longshoremen's strike entered its third month, the Laborite government invoked and applied the Emergency Powers Act in order to try to break the strike by use of armed troops and legal terror.

This law, enacted in 1920, invests the authorities with sweeping dictatorial powers, enabling them to billet troops anywhere they please, including union offices; to make arrests without warrants; and to deal summarily wih sabotage or "interference" with soldiers or even "loitering." It was by means of such powers that the Tory government broke the General Strike of 1926.

The Attlee regime last invoked the 1920 law to break the "unofficial" strike of 20,000 dockworkers in June 1948. At that time the mere proclamation sufficed. This time the law has been applied. Despite the earlier fraudulent claims of a "growing return-to-work feeling," the ranks of the strikers increased afer this open act of government strikebreaking.

"Labor Minister George Isaacs told the House of Commons this afternoon that the 'position at the London docks has not improved.' He added that the number of men on strike had risen to nearly 13,000 — about 2,500 more than yesterday. Other official sources gave the number of ships now idle as 127, fifteen more than yesterday." (N. Y. Times July 12 dispatch from London.)

The mood of the longshoremen was indicated by their voting overwhelmingly to continue the strike while the Cabinet was convening on the issue amid cries of "treason" "agitators from abroad," and the ominous threat of the dictatorial decree.

The longshoremen did not actually call a strike at all. They have been locked out by the shipowners and the Laborite government. As a London AP dispatch, July 11, correctly reported:

"The strike began when some stevedores refused to unload two Canadian ships (the Beaverbrae and the Argomont) . . . The Dock Labor Board — governing dockyard body composed of management, labor and government representatives — refused to let them unload any other ships until they went back to work on the Canadian ships."

There can be no question that the dockworkers' justifiable action, involving elementary international solidarity, is widely popular among the British labor movement a whole. Otherwise the strike could not have lasted as long as it has, the Laborite strikebreakers would not have been compelled to expose themselves so openly, and the rank of the strikers would not have swelled in response to Laborite strikebreaking.

These misleaders of the British working class have seized as a pretext on the lie that the strikers are acting under "Communist agitators obeying instructions from abroad." The Stalinists are undoubtedly active in the leadership of the British longshoremen as well as of the Canadian seamen. But so far as all these workers are concerned they resent any attempt to have imposed on them leadership and decisions not of their own choosing.

The Canadian strike which has provoked world repercussions was precipitated by the AFL Seafarers International Union's attempt to raid the Canadian union while the latter was engaged in negotiations for a new contract. The SIU signed agreements of its own with Canadian shipowners which the seamen in that country have rejected as strikebreaking.

When the Canadians received support from the dockworkers in British and other Commonwealth ports, notably Australia, the AFL sought to bring pressure on unions acting in solidarity with the Canadians. A recent move is a threat by the AFL Maritime Council in New York to call a boycott of British shipping in reprisal.

While these arrogant and blackmail threats by the American labor bureaucrats only stiffen the determination of British dockworkers to express their international solidarity, their "own" Labor government has undertaken the task of bringing the longshoremen to their knees.

Witch-Hunt Purge Aimed at Detroit City Employees

The Detroit Common Council proposes to place on the September ballot a charter amendment which would legalize the setting up of a five-man loyalty board to investigate and pass on the political and religious beliefs and affiliations of city employees and applicants for such jobs, and to fire all those accused of belonging to organizations termed "subversive" by the U. S. Attorney General. Mayor Van Antwerp, fearful that such an amendment would be unconstitutional since the Communist Party is a legal organization, has asked the State Legislature to outlaw the Communist and other parties as "subversive."

The present city charter clearly forbids the questioning of civil service employees regarding their religious or political beliefs, and prohibits discrimination against them on these grounds.

These actions follow a long and carefully-planned drive by the anti-union Detroit press to whip up hysteria. Typical was the **Detroit News'** front page questionaire to be signed and sent to the Mayor. It stated, "I, as a qualified Detroit voter, believe the City should protect itself and its people from plotting by subversive employees of the City. I support the suggestion of the Detroit News that the City Charter be amended to provide for a Loyalty Board to determine the qualifications for public office of any city civil service employee."

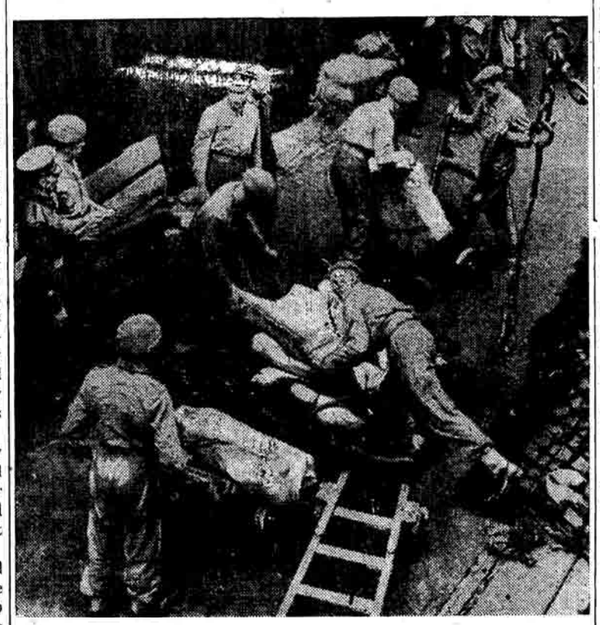
GRILLING BEGUN

Mayor Van Antwerp has meanwhile set up his own special three-man investigating committee. Several city employees have already been dragged before the board and submitted to grilling. The board has stated that it welcomes from private citizens and city employees the names of any city employees they suspect of being "subversive."

These sinister moves represents a grave threat to the entire Detroit labor movement. For in its wake will come the argument that if the city can purge the reds, so can private enterprise. In anticipation, Labor-hating Police Commissioner Harry S. Toy has already reactivized his Red Squad.

Union leaders in the Detroit area have maintained silence on this issue. Their failure to act can only be construed as tacit support of the witch-hunt.

British Troops As Scabs



A vote by striking British longshoremen to continue their 2-month walkout resulted in proclamation of state of emergency by King George VI, empowering the British Labor Government to use troops to break the strike.

Du Pont Monopoly Faces "Trust-Busting" Farce

By Ruth Johnson

For the fourteenth time since 1907, the huge du Pont monopoly is being sued by the government for violating anti-trust laws. Attorney General Tom Clark, like prosecutors who preceded him, points with alarm to the size and power of the trust. But he will do no more than the others to pry up a single tentacle from the monopoly stranglehold on America's wealth.

The government uses such trials as public masquerades to keep up the pretense of free competition under capitalism today. The middle class and the workers are supposed to be impressed by the legal bombast, and forget that after every trial the trusts have grown bigger, more powerful and more arrogant.

Nevertheless, a lot of interesting facts are uncovered in the course of such farces. This time the government shows how the du Pont octopus rules General Motors, the United States Rubber Company and subsidiaries in order to keep prices up and competition helpless.

FOUR BILLION ASSETS

The suit names over 100 members of the du Pont family and their retainers. The du Ponts have wealth that makes kings look like paupers by comparison. The corporation bearing their name produces a thousand commodities, many under a total monopoly set up, such as nylon, cellophane, certain plastics and chemicals; and many other products, including explosives and munitions in vast quantities. But this is only the core of their empire.

The controlling share of General Motors, 23% of its stock, is in the hands of the du Ponts, giving them the power to outvote 436,000 small stockholders who together own the balance. The controlling interest in U. S. Rubber — 17% while the rest of the stock is scattered among 14,000 holders — makes that still another private du Pont preserve.

These three companies together have over four billion dollars in assets. Their 1947 sales amounted to more than five billion dollars. Their net profits after taxes, were nearly half a billion dollars.

Other capitalists of course would like a slice of this juicy melon. But the du Ponts safeguard it in a thousand ways. This isn't news, of course. 'Way back in 1923, when they bought the controlling power in General Motors, the du Ponts set up a special committee to award or withhold bonuses of cash and stock to GM executives. "As an inevitable and intended consequence," the government complains a quarter of a century later, "General Motors have responded to the influence and desires of the du Pont company."

As in every capitalist enterprise, these "interests and desires" are to drive out competition and have a free hand to fix exorbitant prices. It is not surprising to read the government charge that du Pont forces GM and U. S. Rubber to buy "substantially all" the products they need from the du Pont combine and from it alone, "thus depriving outside suppliers of an opportunity to compete."

METHODS OF CONTROL

The profits from GM and U. S. Rubber were used by the du Ponts to expand their own plants, and in addition both companies were dictated to enter new fields of manufacture that could use up more du Pont products, establishing "a closed and guaranteed market" at prices set by the monopoly.

To keep the structure air-tight, du Pont orders U. S. Rubber, the "infant" of the group, to sell tires and tubes to GM at less than prevailing market prices. Such losses are made up by higher prices to other users. Why don't these customers balk? The government explains that du Pont is also guilty of "inducing" outside suppliers of commodities to buy only du Pont, GM and U. S. Rubber products or forfeit their sales to the trust.

Where fields of operation overlap, as in the manufacture of tetraethyl lead, ethyl fluid and ethyl chloride, du Pont and GM set up a new subsidiary, the Kinetic Corporation.

Where there is danger of new competition, all three companies made contracts to control "the sale of products, the grant of licenses, agreement to licenses under patents, and agreements for the exchange of know-how," the government says.

All this is an old story. The current case against the du Ponts was started two years ago, and will drag on indefinitely. According to the United Press, "experts" estimate it will "probably take years of legal maneuvering before it even comes to trial."

If it ever comes to trial, the trust will go scot free. Over a thousand similar suits have been started by the government, and not once has a single monopolist been sent to prison for violating the anti-trust laws. At the most they are reprimanded, and urged to be more discreet lest their depredations raise too great an outcry from their victims.

KUTCHER IN LAST LAP OF WEST COAST TOUR

LOS ANGELES, July 9 — The warm welcome accorded James Kutcher on his arrival at the municipal airport Thursday and at an informal house party tonight are a few of the many indications of widening support in labor and liberal circles on the West Coast for the defense of the civil rights of the legless veteran.

Kutcher was met at the airport by a large committee, including officials of the CIO Steelworkers, Textile Workers and Amalgamated Clothing Workers unions. More then 100 persons attended the welcoming house party and $151 was netted for the committee.

This week, also, three important additions were made to the speakers' list for the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee banquet to be held July 23 at the Park Manor, 607 South Western ave. They are newly-installed Councilman Edward R. Roybal; CIO-PAC Field Representative George Roberts, and Attorney Leo Gallagher noted labor and civil rights lawyer.

Already on the speakers' list in addition to Kutcher were Carey McWilliams, author; Attorney Loren Miller of the NAACP; CIO Regional Director Irwin De-Shetler; and Attorney A. L. Wirin of the American Civil Liberties Union.

PRESS COMMENT

Following a press conference yesterday, the **Los Angeles Daily News** today published a full-length picture of James Kutcher with the caption, **"Lost legs in Italy campaign and VA job in Clark's purge."** The article reported the history of the case and quoted Kutcher:

"All I want is my job back and a public hearing for my party which was placed on the subversive list without being told of the charges against it."

He was also correctly quoted as saying that "the only time I committed an act of force and violence was in the Army under the orders of the United States government."

The article incorrectly stated, however, that he "said the Socialist Workers Party is a bitter foe of Communism and believes in 'a farmers and workers government elected through legal channels which would carry through socialization of the country's basis industries'."

Kutcher actually said that the only group that has viciously attacked him in its press in his entire West Coast tour has been the Communist Party. He emphasized the fact that while the Socialist Workers Party is opposed to the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union and false Stalinist policies in the labor movement here, we defend the civil rights of the Communist Party of the eleven leaders on trial in New York, and of the members of the party.

Another Los Angeles paper, **Crossroads**, a Japanese-American weekly, devoted its entire editorial this week to the Kutcher case. "The label of 'subversive' to a member of the Socialist Workers Party without public hearings is as terribly unfair as that same label was affixed on all Japanese in 1942," the editorial concluded. ". . . Back the Committee while you can."

FITZGERALD SPEECH HINTS AT POSSIBILITY OF SPLIT IN CIO

PHILADELPHIA — Albert Fitzgerald, President of the CIO United Electrical Union, spoke to a membership meeting of UE Local 107 on the subject, "1949 Wage Fight and the Program of UE." But the implication of a coming split in the CIO was the main theme of his remarks.

Before Fitzgerald spoke, a motion to disaffiliate from the State CIO Council was overwhelmingly defeated by the members who want to stay in and fight to make it a better organization. He began by commenting favorably on the arguments for disaffiliation: "They are good trade union arguments and cannot be answered. Men must stand up for what is right and what they believe in. If everyone thought that way about unity there would never have been a CIO. A point is reached when unity alone is not the issue."

"We will not toe the political line of Murray and Reuther," he continued. "Why don't they force other unions to toe the line on the fourth round wage fight? If we have to toe the line as they see it, then the time will come when we must build a new organization just as the people who left the AFL to form the CIO did."

Not once did Fitzgerald state concretely what new guiding principles, what new trade union program would serve as the basis for his "new organization." It was never clear whether his vague threats indicated a decision of the Stalinist UE leaders or were still only bluster. But this talk of splits and expulsions shows how strained relations between the Murray leadership and the Stalinists in the CIO have become.

Immediately after making the above remarks, Fitzgerald tried to cover his flanks: "It is not we who threaten to leave. It is they who go around the country talking about kicking us out, or others who think like we do."

Fitzgerald had little to say about the 1949 wage fight in his talk or in answer to questions. When one member asked what steps were being taken to win the 30-hour week, he answered, "We are going to start a real honest-to-God petition campaign." Ridiculous as it may sound, the "militant UE" is reduced to petition campaigns again. Not a word about industry-wide bargaining, not a move for a strike vote. Just words and bluster.